

3 / 13 : Jan'y 1647
20

THE
INDEPENDENCY
OF
ENGLAND

Endeavored to be maintained
By *HENRY MARTEN*,
a Member of the Parliament there,

Against the Claim of
The *SCOTTISH* Commissioners,
In their late

ANSWER
UPON THE
Bills and Propositions
SENT

to the KING in the Isle of *Wight*.

London, Printed for *Peter Cole*, at the Printing-Prefs in Cornhil,
near the Royal-Exchange, and *John Sweeting*, at the
Angel in Popes-head Alley. 1648.

REMAINED



THE
INDEPENDENCY
OF
ENGLAND

Endeavored to be maintained against
the Claim of the
Scottish Commissioners.

TO rectifie, not to upbraid you: You have
for divers years together been very well
entreated by us of this Nation, and
that from a willinglefs we ever had, as
upon all occasions, so particularly in your per-
sons, to manifest the brotherly respect we bear
towards them who sent you: Upon the same ac-
count many former Boldnesses and Provocations
of yours have been winked at by the Parliament, as
(I am confident) this last Answer would likewise be,
did you not therein seem to have remained here so
long, as to have quite forgotten why you came.

You may therefore please to be remembred, That

it was no part of your first business (whatever supplemental Commissions may since have been procured for a further exercise of your patience among us) to settle Religion, nor to make a Peace in *England*, so as all those devout-like and amicable Endeavors for which you think to be thanked, were, not onely Intrusions into Matters unconcerning you, but so many Diversions from performing, as you ought, what was properly committed to you.

As for our Religion, since the zeal of your Countrymen would needs carry their care thereof so far from home, me thinks their Divines, now sitting with ours at *Westminster*, might excuse your trouble in this particular, or at least might teach you by their practice, That your Advice therein to the Parliament is to be but an Advice, and that an humble one.

As for the other particular of Peace, it is true, that about three years agoe here were Ambassadors from our Neighbors of the *Low-Countries*, who having found the King almost weary of Fighting, made use of their Priviledge, and did his Errand (in stead of their Masters) which was with big words to beg a Peace.

After that, when the Kings Cause had nothing left to lean upon, but the Treachery of our false Friends and Servants, an Ambassador from our Neighbors of *France* did (*en passant*) make a certain overture of Accord betwixt the Crown and the Head. But your employment here from our Neighbors.

bors of *Scotland* had so little relation to Peace, that your onely work was to joyn Counsels with a Committee of ours, in ordering and disposing such Auxiliary Forces as that Kingdom should send into this for carrying on the War.

As to the Delays you charge upon the Parliament, in that they Answer your Papers sometimes late, and sometimes not at all, yet require peremptory and speedy Resolutions from you, as if their dealings were unequal towards you, I hope you will give over making such Constructions, when you shall consider how much more business lies upon their hands, then upon yours; and how much slower progress the same Affairs must needs make, in passing both Houses, then if they were to be dispatched onely by four or five Commissioners. Were not I conscious to this truth, and to the abundant civility they have always for you in their undelayed reading, present referring, and desire of complying with what you send them, so far as might consist with their Duty to this Commonwealth, and that they want nothing but time to say so, I should never have presumed to trust so great a Cause upon the Patronage of so rude a Pen: Neither indeed is it left there, my design being to let the world imagine, how strong a stream of Justice runs on our side, when I dare oppose the Reasons of my single barque, against all the advantages of Number, Abilities, and Countenance that you can meet me with.

For orders sake, I shall take the pains to set the
body

Body of your Discourse as upright as I may (its prolixity and perplexity considered) upon two sect.

One is, *The Claim you make in behalf of the Kingdom of Scotland, to the inspection of and conjunction in the matter of our Laws, and the conditions of our Peace.*

The other (mistaking the first for evinced) is, *Your telling us what you think fit, and what unfit, for us to establish in our Church and State, and what way you conceive most proper for obtaining of a Peace betwixt the King and us; together with the Proofs wherewith you seek to fortify your several Opinions.*

It would give your first foot too much ground, to hold Dispute with you upon the second; therefore since a man may see by your forwardness in printing and publishing both these and other your Transactions with the Houses, that your Arguments (like the Kings in His Messages) are not framed so much to satisfy the Parliament, as to beget in the People a dissatisfaction towards the Parliament: I will (God enabling me) take a time apart to undeceive my Countreymen concerning both the King and you, by laying the Hook as open as the Bait in all your lines; And for the present apply my self onely to the shewing you, That when you shall have offered your Counsel to the Parliament of *England* (as for ought I know any one man may do unto another) in matters concerning this Kingdom onely, though
the

the most wholsom Counſel that ever was or can be given, and the Parliament ſhall not approve it; nor ſo much as a Conference upon it, it is no more maners in you, then it would be in the ſame number of Spaniards, Indians, or of the moſt remote Region of the Earth, to preſs it again, to inſiſt upon it, and to proclaim your unſatisfaction in it.

Let us (with your favor) conſider your pretences: *You do not ſay* (as your ſelves profeſs in the ſecond Paraſſaſſ of your fourth page) *at ſharing in our Rights, Laws nor Liberties, but in other Matters, viz. ſuch as either in their own Nature, or by Compact, are common to both Kingdoms*, which I take the more notice of, becauſe one would ſuppoſe you to be grown kinder now then you were the other day, when you went about to make us believe, that nothing in our Laws did properly belong to us, but the form and maner of proceeding therein, the matter of them being held in common with the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and therefore, and for their poſſibility of containing ſomething prejudicial to that Kingdom, to be re- viſed by you before they receive their perfe- ction.

But the truth is, you are ſtill where you were; onely the Peoples ears are by this time ſo habitu- ated to the Doctrines you frequently ſow among them, thoſe Doctrines ſo improved by your Se- minaries, who find their own Intereſt interwoven with yours, and the Parliament ſeeming but a
looker

looker on, that you perswade your selves any thing will pass that you shall set your Stamp on, otherwise you would certainly have been ashamed to disavow the busying your selves with our *RIGHTS, LAWS and LIBERTIES*, and with the same breath to dispute our Rights, correct our Laws, and infringe our Liberties.

Nay, contrary to that moderate concession of yours, you do in this Answer intrench upon the very form and maner of our Bills and Propositions; and as if the marshalling them, the putting them into rank and file, were to be by your order, you take upon you to appoint which of our Desires shall have the Van, and which the Rere in this Expedition.

And (which is the most pleasant part of the Story, if it would take, as truly such a thing might have done, when you and we were first acquainted) though the Parliament of *England* (as I told you even now) would not order the motions of the Scottish Army that served us in our Countrey, and for our Pay, but by Conjunction of Counsels with Commissioners of that Kingdom; yet you (as you could not forbear meddling with our Army when it was in modelling, so) do in this Paper continue the Office (you put your selves into) of Disposing, Disbanding, Dismembring, Catechizing and Reviling this Army of ours, the greatest Bulwark, under God, of our Liberties, that yet had proved inefficual, if your Counsels had been followed, or your Importunities regarded.

Since

Since then your way of advising us is not in a modest or submitting manner, but as if you meant to pinne your advice upon us whether we will or no; give me leave, I pray you, to examine *quid fiducia*, promising you faithfully for my part, that whensoever you shall bring the matters contested for, within the rules of your own setting downe, that is, *either in nature, or by Covenant, or by Treaty to be of a mixed concernment*; I will either not deny you a *joynt interest* in them, or acknowledge my selfe to have *no more honour nor conscience* in mee, then he may be said to have, who being entrusted for his Countrey, gives up their dearest Rights to the next stranger that demands them without so much as arguing the point.

Your arguments (by my computation) are five, and (if I understand them) speak thus.

Arg. 1. The same common interest upon which Scotland was invited and engaged in the warre ought to be [continued] (so I read you, and not improved, that being a wilde expression, and reaching neither you nor I know whether) *in making the peace.*

For answer thereunto, should I admit it, the word *[invited]* puts you in minde that your Countrey-men came not to the warre before they were called, keep you the same method in *accedendo ad consilium*, and we shall still be friends. But I cannot subscribe to this position, for I believe it was a duty that the people of Scotland did owe unto themselves to give us their assistance

in the late warre, though they had not been invited; yet doth it not follow from thence that when the warre is ended (as you often say it is, and yet most riddlingly take huge paynes for Peace) they are bound to ming'e with us in our Councils, nor help us to settle our own Kingdome, which we thinke our selves able to settle well enough without them, at least without their prejudice to whom a good Peace or a bad, so as it be a Peace is the same thing. For instance, the Law of this Land that gives me leave to pull down my neighbours house when it is on fire, in order to the quenching of it for the securing of my own, will not authorize me against his will, to set my foot within his threshold, when the fire is out, though I make it my errand to direct him in the rebuilding of his house, and pretend the teaching him so to contrive his Chimneyes as may in all probability prevent for the future a like losse to him, a like danger to my selfe.

Arg. 2. You demand the same conjunction of interests to be given you, that was had of you. There I joyne issue with you, and professe, that if ever the Parliament of *England* or any authority derived therefrom did offer to put a finger into the proper affaires of *Scotland*, or into the Government, Civill, Ecclesiasticall, or Military of that Kingdome, and being once required to desist, did notwithstanding prosecute their title of advising *volentibus nolentibus*, I shall readily so farre as in me lyes, grant you to have a hand with us in the managing of this Kingdome, and the government thereof.

3. You

Arg. 3. You affirm that the Covenant entred into betwixt us makes you co-partners with us in every thing there mentioned, by which reckoning neither this Nation, nor that of *Scotland* hath any right law or liberty which either can properly and distinctly call its own, but both interests are jumbled together, and the two Kingdomes are not confederate, but incorporated. Concerning the Covenant therefore (which my selfe, among others considering it first as well as I could) have taken /I shall shortly give you my sence in relation to the point before us.

First, I do not conceive the parties to that League intended thereby to be everlastingly bound each to other, the grounds of striking it being meerly occasionall for the joyning in a war to suppress a common enemy, accordingly we did joyn, the enemy is (if we be wise) suppressed, and the warre (as you say) ended, what should the Covenant do, but like an Almanak of the last yeer shew us rather what we have already done, then what we be now to do.

Secondly, what would it do, were it renewed and made perpetuall ? Thus much it saith in my opinion, and no more. Whensoever you shall be violently hindered in the execution of that Religion you had amongst you at the time of the engagement, and shall require our assistance, we must afford it you, for the removall of that violence. In like manner, whensoever we shall be so hindered in the exercise of that Religion which we according to that Covenant shall esta-

bliss here, upon request to you made for that effect, you are tyed to assist us. And so throughout all the other clauses respectively and equally, carrying this along with you ; we are hereby obliged to the reciprocall defence of one another according to the Declaration of the party wronged in any of the particulars there comprised, without being cavilled at, or scrupled by the party invoked, whether your Religion be the same it was, or ours the same it should be, whether the bounds of your liberties or ours be not enlarged beyond their then-line, whether your Delinquents or ours be justly so or no. For, the native rights of both peoples being the principal, if not the onely thing we looked on, when we swore; we do not keep our oath in preserving those rights, if we do not allow this master-right, to each severall people, namely, to be sole judges within themselves, what Religion they will set up, what kind of Lawes they will have, what size, what number of Magistrates they hold fit to execute those Lawes, and what offenders to be tryed by them. Hereupon you know we did not enquire at all how Orthodox your Religion was before we vowed to maintain you in it, that is, in the quiet professing of it, (not in the Theologicall truth of it, a businesse for a University perhaps, not for a Kingdome) being well assured, it was established by them who had all the authority that is visible to chuse for themselves, and could nor without apparent breach of order, and injury to fundamentals be disturbed in the exercise of what they had so chosen.

So

So farre is the plaine text of this Covenant from confounding interests that it cleerly settles and confirms them upon the severall bases where it found them. And it would not be unworthy of you to take heed lest this Covenant upon which you seem to set so high a rate, be not as easily violated as slandered, since the most deadly warres have been said at least to begin with mis-understandings.

Arg. 4. Your entitling your selves to a consufance in the conditions of our Peace, and consequently in the matter of our Lawes (when they relate to an agreement, as I confesse the four Bills do which were sent) is grounded upon a very great mistake of the eighth article in the treaty, the words whereof are indeed very rightly incited by you, and the article it self so rationall, so ordinary, so necessary in all warres joined in by two States, that I do almost wonder as much what need there was to have inserted it, as I do how it is possible for you to mistake it. It stands briefly thus. One of you (for the purpose) & I (pardon if you please the familiarity of the instance) have solemnly engaged our selves each to other for our mutuall aid against a third person, because we conceived him too strong for either of us single, or because one of us doubted he might have drawn the other of us to his party, if not pre-engaged against him, but which soever of us was first in the quarrell, or what ever was the reason of the others coming in, we are engaged, & though there were now things drawn betwixt us, no terms expressed, were not I the veri-

veriest *Schelm* that ever looked man in the face if I should shake hands with the common adversary and leave you fighting? against such a piece of basenes (supposing it belike to be in nature) this Article provides, and saies that since these two Kingdoms were content to joyn in a war which without Gods great mercy might have proved fatall to them both, neither of them shall be suffered to make its peace apart; so as if the Parliament of *Scotland* upon consideration of reasons occurring to themselves should offer to readmit the King into that Kingdom (I say not with honour, freedom, and safety but) in peace, the Parliament of *England* might step in and forbid the banes, telling them we are not satisfied that an agreement should yet be made, *similar*, if this Parliament would come to any Peace with him by Bills or Propositions, or by what other name soever they call their plaisters, you may (being so authorized) in name of that Kingdome or the Parliament, thereof intervene, and oppose, telling us that you who are our fellow-Chirurgions, meerly in launcing of the sore, are not satisfied in the time for the healing of it up. But for you to read a lecture to us upon our medicaments and their ingredients, to take measure of our wounds, and to prefer your measure before that of our own raking was never dreamt on by the Framers of this article.

Here it may perhaps be demanded though not by you, whether (according to my sence of the treaty, tying up both Kingdoms to a consent in the

Fiat,

Fiat, not in the *Qualis fuerit* of Peace) if one should be obstinately bent to hang off, the other be necessitated to welter everlastingly in blood for want of such a concurrence. I answer, yes, for these reasons.

First, a wise man will fore see inconveniences, before he make his bargaine, and an honest man will stand to his bargaine notwithstanding all inconveniences.

Secondly, there will be no great encouragement for any obstinacy of that kinde when it shall be remembered that the party obstructing the peace must continue to joyne in the warre, and is lyable to all the consequences thereof.

Thirdly, there is another and a more naturall way to peace and to the ending of a warre then by agreement, namely by conquest. I think he that playes out his set at Tennis till he win it, makes as sure an end of it, and more fair, then hee that throwes up his Racket when he wants but a stroke of up, having no other way to rook those of their money that bet of his side. If I am trusted to follow a suit in Law for friends concerned therein, together with my selfe, and daube up a rotten compromise with my adversary, my fellowes not consulted, but desiring the suit should still goe on, it is not fit they should be bound thereby, but if I continue to doe my duty and bring the cause to hearing to a verdict thereupon, and to judgement upon that, such an end of the quarrell I hope I may make without their leave, and if the tryall

tryall went with me, certainly without their offence.

To returne to the nature of confederacies, Is the warre wherein we are joyned an invasion from without? any one man of either side if he have strength enough, hath authority enough to end it by repelling the invader, is it a rebellion from within? it were strange to think that any Law or engagement should hinder a single man from ending it, if he be able by suppressing of the rebels. The unworthy friend in the fable, when his companion and he met a bear in the wood, might have been allowed to kill her himselfe, but he should not have sought his safety in a tree, without taking his friend along with him.

One thing more I shall adde to justifie the reason of this 8. Article, such as might (for its clearnesse of being implied) have excused its being listed among the rest. Never did any people that joyned in armes with a neighbour-nation patch up a peace apart, with more dishonour to it selfe, then either of us should do, if we could imagine our selves to be so vile; for the common enemy in this warre is not a stranger unto either Kingdome, but the King of both, so as which soever of the two closeth with him by it selfe, before consent, that there shall be at all a closure, doth not onely withdraw from the other those aides it should contribute, but of a sworne Brother becomes an open enemy.

Here

Here I must observe, that as you put an interpretation upon this Article, which it will not bear, and from the power you have thereby of hindering us from agreeing with the King at all, would enable your selves to pry into the particulars of our Agreement, so you do not once glance at the point which was the true genuine scope of the Article: You do not protest against our making peace with this man; and give such reasons as *Jehu* did, upon a less occasion: You do not wonder what confidence we can repose in him, after all this experience of him, and before so much as a promise of any amendment from him; you do not warn us, by the example of your Country-men, what a broken reed we shal lean upon when we make a pacification with him: You do not remember us with what horror the Assembly of your Church did look upon his misdoings; nor what sence both Kingdoms had (not of a reconciliation with him, but) of suffering him to come neer the *Parliament of England*, until satisfaction were given *for the blood which he had then caused to be shed in the three Kingdoms*. In fine, You do not say (for you need not give us your reasons) that you will make no peace with the King; therefore we ought not, but you do as bad as say that you have made your peace already, and that not only without our consent (in despite of the Article which you urge against us) but without our privy, that you are come a degree beyond being friends with him, to be advocates for him, not in mediating that his submission might be accepted, his crimes obliterated, and their salary remitted, but in asserting the same cause which we have been

all this while confuting with our swords, the same cause, which, what English-man or Scottish-man soever shal have endeavored to maintain in Arms, is a declared Traytor to his Country, if by his tongue or pen in that Kingdom of the two where he is no Native, a manifest incendiary. But there will be time enough to do your errand into *Scotland* after I have proved *England* to be a Noun Substantive, against which you have the shadow of one Argument left stil.

Ar. 5. The strength of your last Reason is this. Our Parliament hath formerly communicated unto you the matter of their Propositions, and of their Bills, in order to Peace, and generally indeed whatever hath passed betwixt the King and us, since the conjunction of the two Kingdoms against him. Thereupon you have offered us your Advice concerning the Particulars so communicated, and we have re-considered them upon your Advice, sometimes complying therewith, other times making it appear to you why we could not; that communication of counsels, say you, we would never have suffered, if we had not been bound to it, which if we ever were, we stil are.

Custom and constant usage (I acknowledg) doth commonly obtain the name of Law: but the late practise of some four or five years, hath not an aspect reverend enough to deserve the name of Custom; it is as old (you wil say) as an usage can be that is grounded upon a treaty of the same age, and shal be sufficient to signifie how the parties to the Treaty did understand their own meaning. I should not deny this pretence of yours to be more then colourable;
if

if you could prove that our transactions with the King were imparted to you in relation to that Engagement, nay if I could not shew you upon what other ground we did it, and that we could not reasonably be imagined to do it upon that.

First, to prove, what the Parliament had in their intentions, when they advised with you, I believe you will not undertake, especially this being the first time, to my remembrance, that this point came in question betwixt us. I shal therefore endeavor to tel you, as neer as I can, (having been an attentive witness to most of their Debates upon that subject) what it was that moved them to give your challenge so much probability of advantage as this amounts unto. *You ask that now, without being answered, which you were wont to have without asking.* You were so; and that from these two Roots: One was the extraordinary care the Parliament had to omit no act, no circumstance, of civility towards you, which might express or preserve the amity and correspondence betwixt them and your Masters, though they were not ignorant what extreame prejudice courteous and good natured men have often drawn upon themselves in their dealing with persons of a contrary disposition. Another was, since both Kingdoms have been imbarqued in the same cause, as men of War, and were afterwards resolved to trade for peace, since the commodities of both were to be stowed in the same bottom, and bound for the same Port; we thought it but an ordinary piece of friendship, for us who could make no markets, when we should be arrived without your allowance to open and let you see before we launch-

ched our several parcels and instructions concerning what we would export and what bring home; nor that we meant to consult you what kind of Merchandize you thought fittest for us to deal in, which questionless is better known at the *Exchange* than at *Edinburgh*, nor to follow such advice therein as you should give us without asking any further then we liked it; and so far the best Merchant in *London* is content to be ruled by the Swabber of his Ship: but meerly to the end, you might (if you pleased) from our example, and from your aprobation of the ware we were resolved to deal in, furnish that Kingdom (whose Factors you were) with Merchandize of the same kind, and for evidence that the Freedom we used towards you was no otherwise understood by you, you did actually under-write divers of our Bills of Lading in these fillables: *The like for the Kingdom of Scotland.*

It remains to be shewed how little reason there is you should fancy to your selves such a ground of the Parliaments former opennes to you, as you strive to father upon them. For, first, If they had communicated their Propositions to you as conceiving the word [*Agreement*] in the eighth Article to comprehend all the preparations to, materials of, and circumstances in an Agreement, they would not have adhered (as many times they did) unto their own resolutions notwithstanding your reiterated dissatisfaction. Again, If they had conceived themselves bound to any such thing by this Article, would they not have thought the Kingdom of *Scotland* as much bound for their parts; Should we not have been as diligent inspectors and castigators

Agitors of your Propositions as you have made your selves of ours?

When you shal ask me, setting the point of duty aside, and granting all that hath bin done by us in this kind to have been voluntary; Why we do not observe the same forwardnes in communicating our matters to you, the same patience in expecting your concurrence with us, and the same easines of admitting your *Haraugues* and Disputations amongst us, which you have heretofore tasted at our hands, and how we are become less friendly then we were. I have this to say. There is some alteration in the condition of affairs: So long as we needed the assistance of your Countrymen in the Field, we might have occasion to give you meetings at *Derby House*, and now and then in the *Painted Chamber*, it being likely that the Kingdom of *Scotland* might then have a fellow-feeling with us of the wholesomeness or perniciousness of your counsels; whereas now since we are able (by Gods blessing) to protect our selves, we may surely (with his holy direction) be sufficient to teach our selves how to go about our own business, at least without your tutoring, who have nothing in your considerations to look upon, but either your particular advantage, or that of the Kingdom whence you are. And as there is some alteration in affairs, so there is very much in persons, I mean in your selves, unless being indeed the same at first which now we find you, you only wanted an opportunity to appear; but whether you be changed or discovered, what English-man soever shal peruse the Papers that you have shot into both Houses of Parliament, especially into the House of Commons these two last years had

had as lieve take advice from the King as from you, & if a stranger should read them, he would litle suspect the writers for Friends, or Counsellors, but for Pleaders, for Expostulators, for Seekers of a quarrel, and that (which is the most bitter weed in the pot) in the behalf, not so much of them who did employ you, as of him against whom you were employed, and against whom, if you were Scottish-men, nature would teach you to employ your selves.

By this time I hope you see we have greater cause to repent, that we have kept such thornes thus long in our sides, then to return with the dog to the same vomit, and with the lazy Sow, scarce clenfed of her former wallowing to bemire our selves again. I bestow a little the more ink upon this point, because I would prevent the like claim hereafter, and have it left to the liberty of this nation, next time they shall be invaded or oppressed, though they did once call in their Brethren of Scotland to their aide, whether they wil do so any more or no.

Having gone through your 3 Arguments, at the end of your dozen Commandements (so I call *desires that must not be slighted on pain of incurring the guilt of violating Engagements, and of such dangers as may ensue thereupon*) I observe one engine you use, whereon you lay more weight then upon all you say beside; It begins with a flourish of oratory bespeaking a fair Interpretation of your meaning, though your motion be to take the right eye out of every one of our heads; then you think to make your desires legitimate with fathering them upon a *Kingdom*, and put us in mind how wel that *Kingdom* hath deserved to raign over this. For to the
offer

offering of desires, as desires, there needs no merit, sure, but since your opinion, (that the advantages of honor lie all on that side, and that Obligations of this sort have not been as reciprocal between both Nations, as those of Leagues and Treaties,) wil force my pen upon this Subject. I shall let you know that some-what may be said (when modesty gives leave; on this side too; and yet all the kindneses we have received from *Scotland*, shall (by my consent) not only be payd for, but acknowledged: and I can be content to believe, that our Neighbours did not know how ill we were, till we were almost past cure, and therefore came slowly to us; that they did not know how well we were, in a year after we had nothing for them to do. and therefore went slowly from us. Only I would have it confessed, that the fire we talk of, was of your Countymans kindling, Began to burn at your house, to be quenched at ours, and by our hands. But admit this Nation had been merely passive in this War, and did owe their deliverance out of the Kings Talons wholly to the Scottish Nation, if the rescuer become a ravisher, if they have protected their own prey, they have merited only from themselves, and have their reward in their hands. What have we gotten by the bargain? What have we saved? What have we not lost? For if once you come to fetch away my Liberty from me, I shal not ask you what other thing you wil leave me: and the Liberty of a people governed by Laws consists in living under such Laws as themselves or those whom they depure for that purpose shal make choice of: To give out orders is the part of a Commander; to give the Law, of a Conqueror

ror; although our Norman did not think fit so to exercise his right of Conquest; Nay our condition would be lower and more contemptible, if we should suffer you to have your will of us in this particular, then if we had let the King have his.

1.

A King is but one Master, and therefore likely to sit lighter upon our shoulders than a whole Kingdom, and if he should grow so heavy as cannot well be born, he may be sooner gotten off then they. You shal see a Mounsiours horse go very proudly under a single man, *To carry double* but * to be *Chargé en croupe*, is that which nature made a mule for, if nature made a mule at all.

2.

The King never pretended to the framing and imposing of Laws upon us as you do; he would have been content with such a negative voyce therein, as we allow you in the making of our peace with him; did we fight rather then afford him so much, though seemingly derived

derived unto him from his Predecessors; and shal we tamely give you more? Give you that which your Ancestors never yet durst ask of ours?

3.

Lastly, it had been far more tolerable for the King, then for any Forraign Nation to have a share in the making of our Laws, because he was likely to partake, and that largely in the benefit of them, if good; in the inconveniences, if bad; which strangers are not: nay contrarily, it is matter of envy and jealousie betwixt neighbours to see each other in a flourishing estate. So as the proper end of Laws, being to advance the people, for whom they are made in wealth and strength, to the uttermost; they are the most incompetent Judges of those Laws in the world, whose interest it is to hinder that people from growing extreamly rich or strong.

By what hath been already said, and by a word ortwo of close, it wil (I hope) appear, that the claim you make to the voting with us in the matter of our Laws, and the conditions of our peace as a thing whereunto we shoud be obliged by agreement, is;

D

1.

1.

Mistaken in matter of Fact, there being no such engagement on either side.

2.

Unreasonable for the considerations above mentioned, and for being destructive to the very principles of property.

3.

Unequal (notwithstanding the reciprocation) more than Cyrus, his childish judgment was, in making the little boy change coats with the great one, because his was long and the others short: For our coats are not only longer than yours, but as fit for us that do wear them, as for you that would.

4.

Unusual, there being no president for it, what I could ever read or hear of; and yet there have been leagues betwixt states of a stricter Union

nion then this betwixt us, as offensive and defensive, ours only defensive.

5.

Unsafe, for the keeping up of hedges, boundaries and distinctions. (I mean reall and jurisdictional ones, not personal and titular) is a surer way to preserve peace among neighbours, then the throwing all open. And if every man be not admitted wise enough to do his own business, whoever hath the longest sword will quickly be the wisest man, and dis-inherit all his neighbours for Fools.

6.

Impossible to be made good to you, if it had been agreed: For the Parliament it self, from whom you claim, hath not in my humble opinion authority enough to erect another authority equal to it self.

As for your exhortations to piety and loyalty, wherewith you conclude. When you have a mind to offer Sacrifice to your God, and Tri-

but to you: **Emperour** (since the one will not
be mocked, and the other should not) you
may do well to do it of your own, and to re-
member, that the late unnaturall war with all
the Calamities that have ensued thereon, took
its rise from an naturall encroachments upon
the severall Rights and Liberties of two Nati-
ons, resolved it seemsto hold their own with
the hazard of a war, and all the Calamities that
can ensue thereon.

Henry Marten.

.d

FINIS.

As for your exhortations to piety and love,
I have already answered. When you have
a mind to offer sacrifices to your God, and I
am